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LEVELS OF SCHEMATICITY  
IN METAPHORICAL ANIMAL NICKNAMES:  
THE CASE STUDY OF *KOCZKODAN* NICKNAME IN POLISH

Cognitive linguists delineate language as “an integral part of human cognition” (Langacker, *Foundations* 12), and an embodied product of human mind received through conceptualisation that is driven by the nature of our bodies (Lakoff and Johnson 19). In other words, from the cognitive point of view, language is not an objective mirror of the world, but it rather reflects the way we construe the world, reality and society. Likewise, the meaning of a given expression reveals not only the inherent properties that reside in the entity or situation, but mostly our human subjective construal of it. Hence, entities, events as well as people are portrayed in the way we conceptualise them, not according to objectivist truth-conditional, “disembodied, independent of human understanding” rules (*ibid.*).

The prior task of cognitive mechanisms that construe the reality, i.e. construals, is to reveal the features of a given language, cognition, and society, and their mutual interdependence. Both the language-cognition-society triangular relationship, and the very construals that portray it, have been widely approached from different angles within Cognitive Linguistics (Charteris-Black, “Forensic”), which resulted in providing diverse terms to a given cognitive mechanism. For instance, *conceptual metaphor*, despite being most often recognised in terms of *domains*, as a source-and-target-domain mapping (Kövecses, *Where; Extended*), is also referred to in terms of *image schemas* (e.g., Lakoff, “The invariance;”

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“The contemporary”), *frames* (e.g., Kövecses, *Language*), *scenes* (e.g., Grady, *Foundations; THEORIES*), mental spaces (e.g., Fauconnier and Turner; Fauconnier), *schemas* (e.g., Lakoff and Turner), and *scenarios* (e.g., Musolff, “Metaphor;” *Political*). In addition, metaphor is perceived by discourse analysts as ‘purposeful’ or ‘deliberate’ language practice, framed within one’s intentionality (Steen). Cognitive psycholinguists, in turn, emphasise the ‘non-deliberate’ feature of metaphor, which reveals a person’s automatic unconscious mental or/and emotional processes (Gibbs, “Are deliberate” 39). Regardless of the varied terminology used, it is metaphor that has long been seen as one of the most potential construals and cognitive devices for meaning construction. Accordingly, this very construal seems to be the best candidate to construct the meaning of a chosen nickname.

To be exact, the main concern of this paper is to find the present meaning of an animal-related nickname in Polish, i.e. *koczkodan* [English: hag, frump; literally: a vervet monkey]. The contemporary meaning is to be obtained by examining the metaphors underlying this nickname, which are motivated by various contextual factors, e.g. the gender of the user of the nickname and discourse registers in which the phrase occurs. Accordingly, the aim of the paper is threefold: first, to specify different types of discourse in which the metaphors underlying the Polish animal-related nickname *koczkodan* appear in the contemporary Polish language. Second, to analyse the structure of the metaphorical mappings that occur between the domain of [A HUMAN BEING] and [AN ANIMAL], and determine the schematicity levels of these mappings. Third, to discuss the so-received current meaning of the nickname under scrutiny against the existing dictionary definition of the word. Expectedly, by making a proposal for the meaning extension of the examined nickname, the study seems to prove significant both for cognitive semantics and lexicography.

The structure of the paper is as follows: having distinguished metaphor for its contribution to meaning construction, pervasiveness, cognitive unconscious nature, psychological reality, and process-product nature, and having specified the main concern and aims of the paper section 1 offers a description of a hybrid theoretical model for our study, based on the extended version of the Contemporary Metaphor Theory as well as Critical Metaphor Analysis. Section 2 outlines the methodology and data of the research. Section 3 deals with the meaning construction of the nickname *koczkodan*, starting with its dictionary definition and extracting metaphors which underlie this conventionalized reading (section 3.1). Then, section 3.2 reveals the preliminary results of the corpus search for all possible metaphorical entries of the nickname in Polish that we may encounter these days. Section 4 is a cognitive analysis of the contemporary context-dependent meaning of the nickname, constructed on the ground of the discourse extracts and their

underlying metaphors. The discussion refers to the levels of schematicity in meaning construction, as recently proposed by Zoltán Kövecses (“Levels;” *Extended*). The last section closes the paper with the main conclusions that can be drawn from the results obtained in the study.

## 1. HYBRID THEORETICAL MODEL

With these goals to reach, the framework of our study needs to be integrative and interdisciplinary. Taken from the cognitive linguistic perspective, it begins with a corpus study of animal metaphors that are used as the female/male nickname *koczkodan*, and continues with an analysis along the paradigms of both Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT), initiated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson and developed by Zoltán Kövecses (*Where*; “Conceptual metaphor;” *Extended*) as well as Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth CMA), launched by Jonathan Charteris-Black. What both of these approaches have in common is their orientation on metaphor and the assumption that human conceptualisation is largely structured around this construal (Poppi and Urios-Aparisi). A significant part of the research from Cognitive Linguistics, including psycholinguistics, recognizes metaphor not only as “a figure of speech, but [a]s a specific mental mapping that influences a good deal of how people think, reason, and imagine in everyday life” (Gibbs, “Why Many” 309; Johnson; Lakoff and Johnson; Lakoff, *Women*; Lakoff and Turner; Sweetser; Kövecses, *Where*; *Extended*). By means of metaphor, many concepts that we are less familiar with, especially abstract ones, are mentally represented, structured and delineated. Consequently, most scholars take the general view of conceptual metaphor and define it as “a set of correspondences between a more physical source domain and a more abstract target domain,” as in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY, ANGER IS FIRE, and THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS metaphors (Kövecses, “Conceptualizing” 16). Indeed, this way of understanding metaphor is based on the examination of hundreds of instances in the literature so far (Kövecses, “Conceptual metafor” 15). Nonetheless, this well-recognised view of metaphor that is treated as a cross-domain mapping does not seem to reveal the full richness of metaphorical mappings. In other words, some metaphor researchers assume (e.g. Grady, *Foundations*; Musolff, “Metaphor;” Kövecses, “Levels” 322) that domains are not the only conceptual structures where metaphorical conceptualisation may occur; and this assumption is to be elaborated in this paper.

What is more, CMT researchers have been recently criticised for not paying “sufficient attention to the discourse and social-pragmatic functions of metaphor

in real discourse” (Kövecses, “Conceptual Metaphor” 23). This “apparently real weakness” (ibid.) of the Lakoffian theory of metaphor has been addressed by Jonathan Charteris-Black (*Corpus*) as the basis of his proposal of critical metaphor analysis. CMA, labelled under the scope of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), identifies language and communication as a form of social practice and discovers the ideology in and behind text, speech, and multimodal interactions (Fairclough; Machin and Van Leeuwen; Morozova; Poppi; Poppi and Urios-Aparisi). By drawing on “the insights of CDA, pragmatics, and the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor” (Maalej 132), CMA offers a “discourse model of metaphor” (Charteris-Black, *Corpus* 243).

Taken from this perspective, our working CMT-CMA hybrid model that we create for the purpose of the study is based both on the extended view of CMT and on the discursive and critical view of metaphor after CMA. In the former, we assume after Kövecses (“Conceptual metaphor”, “Levels”, *Extended*) that metaphor does not only involve certain conceptual domains, as it has been generally adopted. Instead of that, conceptual metaphor is assumed (as already mentioned) to entail a whole hierarchical system of conceptual structures built on the degree of schematicity, from *image schemas* – seen as the most schematic and conventional structures, through *domains* and *frames*, until *mental spaces* – recognized as the least schematic and most individual ones, in which metaphor integration occurs. In addition to that, all the levels of metaphorical behaviour can be influenced, i.e. ‘primed’, by varied contextual factors (Kövecses, “Levels” 323; *Extended* 52). In the latter part of the hybrid model, our study of the *koczkodan* nickname is based on the real discourse, retrieved from a language corpus, in order to elicit any metaphors that underlie the nickname. We will also make an attempt to search for some contextual priming factors that motivate the given nickname metaphors, and which are possible to be investigated in this study. Finally, the analysis of the so-received animal contextually-primed metaphors, realised on different levels of schematicity, may help us understand the novel meaning that the nickname has received so far.

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND DATA OF THE STUDY

This section is meant to explain the methodology of the study, including the reason behind choosing the animal-related nickname *koczkodan* to be investigated in its metaphorical reading.

Mieczysław Szymczak defines a *nickname* as “an additional, usually humorous name given to someone specific to a given person; pseudonym” (977). Apart

from acting as a substitute for the proper name of a person and expressing one's affection, some nicknames, as in the case of the *koczkodan* nickname, may reveal their offensive feature, being used to express some defamation of one's character (libel, slander), or be a kind of derogatory name calling (sobriquet, epithet, moniker) (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*; Doroszewski).

As provided by the Polish-English dictionary, called *Wielki multimedialny słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski PWN-Oxford* (henceforth PWN-Oxford), *koczkodan* in Polish literally means a type of a monkey called in English 'a vervet'. In its figurative meaning, the word *koczkodan* defines an unattractive woman or man, referring to the ugliness of her/his physical appearance and dressing, and its English equivalent is 'a hag, frump or a dog'.

The reason behind choosing this word for our research is that the term *koczkodan* derives from the world of nature and is used colloquially as a derogatory nickname. This nickname seems to be one of the best candidates for our study since not only is it used by the contemporary Poles but it also represented the first-listed most common Polish nicknames in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. from 1860 (Stupnicki). Importantly, this nickname still exists on the list of bad words, largely used in slang and colloquial speech (*Miejski słownik Słangu i mowy potocznej*). Unfortunately, due to space limit, we will not be able to deal with a few more animal nicknames which appear to meet the criterion of a long history and still present-day use, such as *kwoka* 'a sitting hen.' The final argument in favour of choosing *koczkodan* for the study is that, – in contrast to other long-history animal-related nicknames, *koczkodan* is assumed to have its contemporary meaning recently extended. To clarify, we suppose that, in comparison to its primary reading, the novel extended meaning of *koczkodan* is the result of metaphorical elaboration and blending. Therefore, our study aims at establishing the variety of the current meanings of the word *koczkodan* by means of metaphors that underlie this expression. In this light, metaphors underlying the examined word are treated as the tools of meaning construction. Having adopted Kövecses's (*Where*; "Conceptual Metaphor;" *Extended*) claim that metaphors are context-dependent and frequently "primed" by the context in which they occur, we are to investigate the metaphorical nickname in its real discourse use.

Our study of the metaphorical nickname *koczkodan* comprises three main stages, namely: a dictionary examination, a corpus search, and a cognitive analysis. To be exact, in the first stage of the research, presented in section 3.1, we will examine the present dictionary definition of *koczkodan* to learn its present conventional reading, and identify conceptual metaphors which underlie the nickname *koczkodan* in its figurative usage.

In stage two of the study, elaborated in section 3.2, the nickname under scrutiny is checked in the Polish language corpus to find out its metaphorical use in real discourse. The discourse extracts are retrieved from Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (the National Corpus of Polish; henceforth the NKJP Corpus).<sup>1</sup> Some further details can also be specified in the search, such as the number of occurrences of the nickname, the register types in which the term mostly appears as well as certain characteristics concerning the speakers using such a metaphorical nickname. The collection of texts in this corpus includes classic literature, daily newspapers, specialist periodicals and journals, transcripts of conversations, and a variety of short-lived and Internet texts.

In stage three, elaborated in section 4, we are to reconstruct all the current meanings of the nickname under scrutiny, based on metaphors on their different levels of schematicity. Expectedly, the metaphorical mappings occur between the concept of *a human being* and *an animal*, and can be realised on four different levels of schematicity, beginning with the most schematic *image schema*, through *domains* and *frames*, until the least schematic and most individual *mental spaces* (Kövecses, “Levels” 323; *Extended* 52).

In short, all these three stages are interrelated and indispensable to obtain the presumed results in our study. Significantly, our research appears to realise the three layers of Charteris-Black’s (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis, i.e. Metaphor Identification, Metaphor Interpretation, and Metaphor Explanation. Indeed, our corpus linguistics approach may, as we hope, not only help us identify the metaphors but also considerably enhance our understanding of them (Deignan). The metaphors, in turn, when interpreted and explained, seem to help us reproduce the contemporary meaning of the nickname *koczkodan*.

### 3. MEANING CONSTRUCTION OF THE *KOCZKODAN* NICKNAME

The aim of section three is to investigate the metaphorical meaning of *koczkodan* that is present today, by retrieving first its definition from contemporary dictionaries (in section 3.1), and then, by the preliminary results of the corpus search for all possible metaphorical entries of the nickname *koczkodan* in Polish (section 3.2).

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<sup>1</sup> The corpus search is done via the PELCRA search engine, prepared by Piotr Pęzik and available at [www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/collocations.jsp](http://www.nkjp.uni.lodz.pl/collocations.jsp).

### 3.1. DICTIONARY MEANING OF THE NICKNAME *KOCZKODAN*

The nickname *koczkodan* is defined literally as ‘a vervet monkey’, i.e. a type of a little monkey with a short snout and a long, unattainable tail which lives in African forests (PWN-Oxford; *Wielki słownik języka polskiego*, henceforth WSJP). As given in the WSJP dictionary, the term *koczkodan* dates back to 1560 and originates from the Romanian or Turkish ‘coşcodan’, referring to deformed animals, transported as a wonder of nature at fairs. Later, their place was taken by exotic monkeys in Poland, driven mainly by Wallachian and Turkish Gypsies, imported from Turkish estates in Asia and Africa. This monkey type has a slender build, its coat is dense, short, silky, with a dark brown, almost black to light grey colouration. Its head has an elongated snout, quite large eyes, and rounded bare ears, which are partially hidden in the hair coat. The face is naked, black, with white sideburns on its sides. Males do not differ from females in terms of colouration, but are superior to them in terms of size and body weight. A vervet monkey deals well with climbing and tree jumping, being able to stand and even move only on its hind legs, and leaning on its tail (*Atlas zwierząt*).

The figurative meaning of *koczkodan*, as provided in the PWN-Oxford and WSJP dictionaries, pertains to an unattractive woman or man, stresses the ugliness of her/his physical appearance and weird dressing style. The English equivalent of the metaphorical reading of *koczkodan* is ‘a hag, frump or a dog’. We may identify the main four metaphors that seem to underlie this dictionary definition of *koczkodan*, namely: (i) A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL, (ii) HUMAN (PHYSICAL) CHARACTERISTICS ARE ANIMAL (PHYSICAL) CHARACTERISTICS, (iii) A WOMAN / A MAN WHO LOOKS UGLY IS KOCZKODAN [English: A VERVET MONKEY], and (iv) A WOMAN / A MAN WHO IS BADLY DRESSED IS KOCZKODAN [English: A VERVET MONKEY]. The first metaphor represents the primary and most simplistic metaphor, which is based on the links between the concepts of *a human being* and *animal*, which are hierarchically arranged in the Great Chain of Beings (Lakoff and Turner 166-181; Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical* 154, 156; and Krzeszowski 161-162).

The other three instances of metaphor that seem to underlie the dictionary definition of *koczkodan* result from the metonymic relation +PART FOR WHOLE+, realised in such metonymies as: THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE (CHARACTERISTICS) (ONE’S LOOK OR WAY OF DRESSING) OF A HUMAN BEING STANDS FOR THE HUMAN BEING, and THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE (CHARACTERISTICS) OF A VERVET MONKEY STANDS FOR THE VERVET MONKEY.

### 3.2. CORPUS STUDY OF THE NICKNAME *KOCZKODAN*

The results obtained in the corpus search yield quantitative data for the entry word *koczkodan*. The received text extracts include this keyword in its singular or plural forms, located either in the subject, object or adverbial position. The text passages range from three words to several lines. The detailed results for the nickname *koczkodan* are displayed in (1a) and (1b). The former presents the number of the total occurrence and the percentage of the metaphorical use of the nickname *koczkodan*, while the latter lists more specifics about the figurative meanings of the term under investigation.

(1a) Total occurrence and metaphorical use of *koczkodan*:

Total occurrence: 260 in 181 different texts

Literal use: 166 (64%)

Name: 14 (5%)

**Metaphorical use: 80 (31%)**

(1b) Meaning distribution in the figurative use of *koczkodan*:

**Reference to one's physical ugliness and odd clothes:** 20 out of 80 (25%)

- Reference to women: 17 out of 20 (85%)
- Reference to men: 2 out of 20 (10%)
- Unclear reference (to whom): 1 out of 20 (5%)
- Reference made by women: 7 out of 20 (35%)
- Reference made by men: 12 out of 20 (60%)
- Unclear reference (by whom): 1 out of 20 (5%)
- Register types: literature 9 (45%), journals 8 (40%), Internet chats/blogs 3 (15%)

**Reference to one's evil character traits:** 60 out of 80 (75%)

- Reference to women: 8 out of 60 (14%)
- Reference to men: 47 out of 60 (78%)
- Unclear reference (to whom): 5 out of 60 (8%)
- Reference made by women: 6 out of 60 (10%)
- Reference made by men: 48 out of 60 (80%)
- Unclear reference (by whom): 6 out of 60 (10%)
- Register types: literature 9 (15%), journals 25 (42%), Internet chats /blogs 26 (43%)



As seen in (1a), the noun *koczkodan* is present in our contemporary discourse, occurring 260 times in 181 different texts, mostly in its literal reading, by referring to a monkey (64%), occasionally used as one's name or surname (5%), and in one third of the cases, being exploited in its figurative readings (31%). Based on the results displayed in (1b), we can summarise that the term *koczkodan* in its metaphorical use seems to refer in three fourth of the cases (75%) to a woman's or a man's evil character traits, and only in one fourth of the cases (25%) to their physical ugliness and weird way of clothing. Interestingly, women tend to make use of the word *koczkodan* only in 10 per cent to define human character traits. The reference to one's character traits seems to be mostly made by men (80%), who tend to speak generally about other men's appalling character (78%) and rarely about women's character (14%). Females, on the other hand, appear to be mostly called by the nickname *koczkodan* (in 85 per cent of the cases) while being referred to for their physical ugliness and strange dressing style. The physical unattractiveness of men seems to be mentioned only in 10 per cent of the cases. The reference, in fact, appears to be made by men in the vast majority of cases (60%) and in 35 per cent made by women. In all the figurative uses, some examples of the term *koczkodan* are gender unclear. The reference to one's physical ugliness and bizarre clothes by means of the word *koczkodan* tends to be regularly made in two types of discourse, namely in literature (45%) and in journals (40%), while the Internet chats/blogs seem to constitute 15 percent of this use. Character trait connotations, in turn, appear to be most often encountered in Internet chats/blogs (43%) and journals (42%), and rarely in literature (15%).

In short, the corpus results concerning the metaphorical usage of *koczkodan* are significant and worth taking some further investigation. Unquestionably, it is the male speakers who in most cases seem to prefer using this animal-related nickname, in order to call other men.

#### 4. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

This section is a cognitive analysis of the contemporary context-dependent meaning of the nickname *koczkodan*, built on the basis of metaphors underlying discourse extracts connected with this nickname. A relevant comparison to the present form of the dictionary definition of *koczkodan* is made as well. In other words, we will draw on linguistic evidence and examine the conceptual complexes, i.e. combinations of cognitive models whose existence can be detected from a careful examination of the meaning effects of the linguistic expressions

taken from the NKJP Corpus. Our term of ‘conceptual complexes’ only partly complies with Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez’s construction account and the metaphoric and metonymic complexes he explores in his study. Instead, our term refers more to the metaphoric complexes in Kövecses’s (“Levels” 323; *Extended* 52) sense, which are realised on various levels of schematicity, from the most schematic *image schema*, through *domains* and *frames*, until the least schematic and most individual *mental spaces*.

Man needs metaphors to be able to find himself in the complexities of social life (Dryll 52). As highlighted by Lakoff and Kövecses, Kövecses (*Emotion; Metaphor*; “Conceptualizing”), and Andrew Goatly (158), one of the major functions of metaphor is to express our beliefs and emotions, which may be conceptualised in multiple modes (or modalities) of metaphor, i.e. visual, written or auditory ones. Thanks to metaphorical expressions, others receive the information about our psychological and emotional condition, as well as the information about what they can expect from us at the given moment (Dąbrowski 143-144; Ekman and Cordaro). Insulting others by means of metaphorical nicknames is the extreme form of expressing one’s negative emotional attitude to the hearer or receiver (Goatly 158). In nicknames, which result from the speaker’s hostility, we call concept A by the name given to concept B, which makes it similar to metaphorical correspondence. Indeed, the schema A IS B is precisely what describes conceptual metaphor, named as a set of systematic correspondences, which occur between two conceptual structures of experience, i.e. the target A which is defined by means of the source structure B (Kövecses, *Where* ix). The meaning of nicknames, then, realising the underlying conceptual metaphor(s), is based on such correspondences. The Polish nickname *koczkodan*, which directly derives from the animal name that denotes ‘a vervet’, embodies and provides a variation on the primary conceptual metaphor: A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL. Being conceptually motivated by a metaphor-metonymy relationship, the nickname under scrutiny illustrates a reference between two links in the Great Chain of Being, associating the attributes and behaviours of the animal to the ones represented by human beings (Lakoff and Turner 160-213; Krzeszowski 161). Sadly to say, in the metaphor A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL, the lower-level concept of *animals* becomes a source for the target higher-level concept of *human being* (Kövecses, “Conceptual Metaphor” 23). The issue of dehumanisation of the human level of the Chain has received some attention in the literature, while the case of dehumanisation has been recognised as “strongly polemical, insulting, and [revealing one’s] defamatory bias” (Musolff, “Dehumanizing” 50).

Having learnt the present dictionary definitions of *koczkodan* and identifying their underlying metaphors, we may confirm that all the four cases of *koczkodan* metaphors are still in use and have numerous linguistic realisations in the NKJP Corpus. Some representative examples are listed in (2a)-(2c).

(2) Linguistic realisations of the main four metaphors which underlie **the present dictionary definition of *koczkodan***:

- (a) Dopiero teraz czuję, że jestem nie ubrana, nie uczesana, nie umalowana, nie zadbana i w ogóle czupiradło, *koczkodan*. Bo też moje miejsce jest w baraku. Nie powinnam była tu przychodzić.

[Only now do I feel that I am not dressed, not combed, not made of make-up, not well-groomed, and a fright at all, *a (vervet) hag*. Because my place is also in the barracks. I shouldn't have come here].

- (b) Nauczyciel to dziś zawód tyleż szanowany, bo z misją społeczną, ile pogardzany, bo cały czas pokutują negatywne stereotypy [...] Nauczycielka jest w nich albo postrachem – zamordystką [...], albo niedouczonym głąbem [...], albo sędziwym *koczkodanem* w koku i okularach.

[Today, the profession of a teacher is as much respected, due to its social mission, as despised, because negative stereotypes persist all the time [...] according to which, a teacher is either a terror – a murderer [...], or an uneducated gaby [...], or an old *hag* dressed in a bun and glasses.

- (c) [Jest on jak] trójnóg Hilberta, brzydki jak diabeł, brzydki jak małpa, *jak koczkodan*. Wyglądający na chorego psychicznie.

[He is like Hilbert's tripod, ugly as a devil, ugly as a monkey, *like a dog /hag/ frump* (literally: a *vervet*). He looks mentally ill].

(the NKJP Corpus)

Based on the discourse extracts from the contemporary corpus, we may notice that, in addition to the dictionary meaning of *koczkodan*, there is some novel reading of the term, namely a reference to a woman's or man's evil character traits, as illustrated in the exemplary sentences given in (3a)-(3c).

(3) Linguistic realisations of **the novel two metaphors underlying the *koczkodan* nickname**, based on the corpus extracts:

- (a) Przejęła się ideami tych wszystkich [dziwacznych] feministek, co pchają się na afisz, wymyślają teorie wolnościowe, piszą o równych prawach. Dołączyła do stada wyzwolonych *koczkodanów*, którym poprzewracało się we łbach. Tak, to ONE ją zbałamuciły. Kiedyś była zupełnie inna. Jednak ONE mają teraz za dużo swobody, to fakt.

[She became concerned with the ideas of all those [weird] feminists who push themselves onto the poster, invent theories of freedom, write about equal rights. She

joined a herd of liberated *vervets* (*hags*); it turned over in their heads. Yes, it is them who seduced her. She used to be completely different. However, the ONES have too much freedom now, that is true].

- (b) żal, że tego Pisma nie pisał dobry Bóg, lecz jakiś prymitywny *koczkodan*, bo to nawet nie był człowiek, lecz jakiś orangutan.

[It is a pity that this Document was not written by the good God, but by some primitive *vervet* (*dog*), because it was not even a human, but an orangutan].

- (c) (najkrócej jak potrafię): to są jakieś gangliony i psychiczne *koczkodany*, nigdy nie lubiłam twórczości pana dyrektora G.

[(as short as I can): these are some ganglions and psychic *vervet monkeys* (*dogs*), I have never liked the works of director G].

(The NKJP Corpus)

In fact, the new meaning attributed to the nickname *koczkodan* is much more common nowadays, because it occurs in 60 extracts out of 80 (which is 75 per cent), when compared to the conventional dictionary meaning, that is, the reference to someone's weird appearance or the way they are dressed. Based on the new figurative meanings of *koczkodan*, illustrated by the representative cases in (3a)-(3c), we may claim that there seem to be three main conceptual metaphors underlying this reading, namely, (i) OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR; (ii) A WOMAN / A MAN WHO BEHAVES IN AN EVIL AND PRIMITIVE/ WEIRD WAY IS KOCZKODAN [English: A VERVET MONKEY], and (iii) OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS KOCZKODAN'S [English: A VERVET MONKEY] BEHAVIOUR.

All the six *koczkodan* conceptual metaphors generated on the ground of the figurative cases, taken both from dictionaries and the contemporary discourse (i.e. retrieved from the NKJP Corpus) are presented in Figure 1, where the levels of metaphorical schematicity are specified as well.

As visualised in Figure 1, the nickname *koczkodan* is motivated by the six main metaphors, which involve conceptual structures (complexities) on various levels of schematicity. Following Kövecses ("Levels" 321-323), we distinguish four such levels, namely, the level of image schemas, the level of domains, the level of frames, and the level of mental spaces, which may be all used simultaneously to generate conceptual metaphors. Importantly, these different levels of schematicity, despite some differences, are assumed to form a continuous hierarchy, in which the boundaries between the conceptual structures are not rigid but graded in terms of their schematicity (Kövecses, "Levels" 323).

The metaphor A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL is the most basic and schematic one, realised at the level of *image schema*. Defined as "essential conceptual structures that imbue experience with meaning" (Kövecses, "Levels" 324), *image*

*schemas* are generally considered as directly meaningful preconceptual structures, highly schematic *gestalts*, continuous analogue patterns, internally structured, and consisting of only a few parts (Hampe 1-2). The most popular of the image schemas are CONTAINER, PATH, FORCE, PART-WHOLE, CENTRE-PERIPHERY and LINK, which are the prevalent structures organised in human cognition, arising from our bodily and social interaction with the environment at a preconceptual level (Johnson 65; Lakoff, *Women* 106). Having taken image schemas as the most abstract level that we first derive from when we encounter new things, we can observe that the nickname *koczkodan* is based on the PART-WHOLE or LINK image schema, which motivates the most schematic metaphor A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL. Image schema is, then, our first ‘analogue pattern’ that is conceptually evoked in our heads on the ground of our general knowledge. Hence, in the case of our image-schema-level metaphor A HUMAN BEING IS AN ANIMAL, evolutionists would surely recall the biological classification of creatures to categorise human beings as PART belonging to the WHOLE Kingdom of Animalia. However, we may presume that strong God believers, opposers of evolutionism, would prefer to acknowledge the dependence between the two concepts (*human beings* and *animals*) as the one based more on LINK and RESEMBLANCE than on PART representing the WHOLE.

The lower levels of schematicity, as seen in Figure 1, are represented by domains and frames. Ronald Langacker (*Foundations*) treats *domain* and *frame* alike, defining them as “a coherent area of conceptualisation relative to which semantic units may be characterized” (488). Unquestionably, unlike image schemas, domains and frames are less schematic, and represent a level immediately below image schemas. Kövecses (“Levels” 325) agrees that the line Furthermore, adopting the claim of Kövecses (“Levels” 325) that frames “involve more conceptually specific information than domains” and “elaborate particular aspects of a domain matrix,” we assume that in the case of our metaphors concerning the nickname *koczkodan*, under the so said domain of CHARACTERISTICS, more specific structures of frames can be distinguished, namely the APPEARANCE (LOOK and DRESSING) frame as well as the frame of BEHAVIOUR. While the former frame is already conventionalized in the dictionary, the latter is a novel frame associated with the nickname *koczkodan*. The domain of HUMAN BEINGS is represented both by WOMEN and MEN, while the domain of ANIMALS is at this level elaborated into the frame of KOCZKODAN [English: a *vervet monkey*]. The level of these frames seems to generate the following metaphors: A WOMAN / A MAN WHO IS / LOOKS UGLY / IS BADLY DRESSED IS KOCZKODAN [English: A VERVET MONKEY] and A WOMAN’S / A MAN’S OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOUR IS KOCZKODAN’S [English: A VERVET MONKEY] BEHAVIOUR.

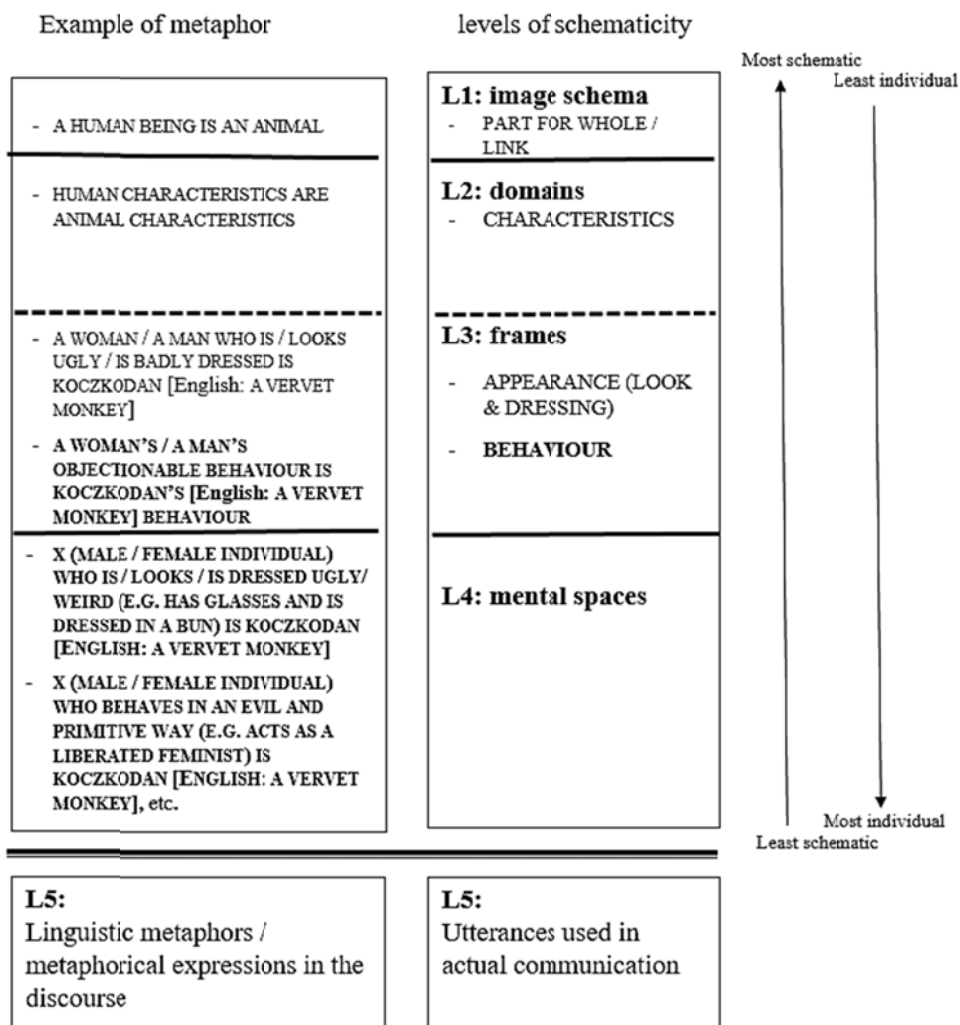


Figure 1. Levels of schematicity for metaphors with the source concept of *koczkodan* (a vervet monkey) (Own source, based on Kövecses, “Levels” 323)

Finally, the process of enriching the domain and /or frame structures with more details happens at the level of *mental spaces*, which results from one’s personal experience and a given context. Mental spaces, which are defined as partial assemblies constructed by frames and cognitive models, “as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and actions” (Fauconnier and Turner

137; Fauconnier 351), fill the roles with particular values in actual discourse in specific communicative situations (Kövecses, “Levels” 326). Mental spaces, located in human working memory (ibid. 343), are highly contextual and form an extension to domains and frames. In this view, Langacker’s (*Cognitive*) term of ‘current discourse space’ complies with this definition as well.

In this light, it seems that the level of mental spaces in the case of the investigated metaphors that underlie the nickname *koczkodan* is represented by numerous instances of metaphor which provide further specifications of any of the already discussed frames (cf. Kövecses, “Levels” 341 and his example of mental space for the frame BUILDING). For instance, an elaboration of the APPEARANCE frame would be the mental space related with the sentences given in (2a)-(2c), which refer to the physical look and way of dressing of the women / men described in the following sentences: “[...]jestem nie ubrana, nie uczesana, nie umalowana, nie zadbana i w ogóle czupiradło, *koczkodan* [I am not dressed, not combed, not made of make-up, not well-groomed, and a fright at all, *a (vervet) hag*];” “Nauczycielka jest [...] sędziwym *koczkodanem* w koku i okularach [A teacher is [...] an old *hag* dressed in a bun and glasses]” and “Jest on jak trójnóg Hilberta, brzydki jak diabeł, brzydki jak małpa, jak *koczkodan* [He is like Hilbert’s tripod, ugly as a devil, ugly as a monkey, *like a dog /hag/ frump* (literally: a *vervet*)]”.

Another elaboration at the level of mental space concerns the BEHAVIOUR frame, which – as we have already noticed – is some kind of an extension of the conventionalized meaning of the nickname *koczkodan*. The novelty in the meaning of *koczkodan* seems to start at the frame level and continues at the level of mental spaces, as exemplified by the sentences given in (3a)-(3c): “stada wyzwolonych *koczkodanów*, którym poprzewracało się we łbach [a herd of liberated *vervets (hags)*; it turned over in their heads;” “jakiś prymitywny *koczkodan*, bo to nawet nie był człowiek, lecz jakiś orangutan [some primitive *vervet (dog)*, because it was not even a human, but an orangutan]” and “jakieś gangliony i psychiczne *koczkodany* [some ganglions and psychic *vervet monkeys (dogs)*].”

What is common in all the listed examples at the level of mental spaces is that they specify a specific individual who either is dressed or looks weirdly, or behaves in a primitive or weird way. These pieces of information are not included in the more schematic APPEARANCE or BEHAVIOUR frames. Consequently, we can enlist numerous metaphors underlying the sentences at the level of mental spaces. However, there seems to be two main patterns of metaphor at this level, namely, (i) X (MALE / FEMALE INDIVIDUAL) WHO IS / LOOKS / IS DRESSED UGLY/ WEIRD (E.G. HAS GLASSES AND IS DRESSED IN A BUN) IS KOCZKODAN [English: A VERVET

MONKEY], and (ii) X (MALE / FEMALE INDIVIDUAL) WHO BEHAVES IN AN EVIL AND PRIMITIVE WAY (E.G. ACTS AS A LIBERATED FEMINIST) IS KOCZKODAN [English: A VERVET MONKEY].

Interestingly, as explained by Kövecses (“Levels”), apart from these four levels, which pertain to conceptual structures of image schema, domain, frame and mental spaces, and are realised in different schematic hierarchies, “there is of course the level of communication, Level 5, where speaker and hearer use some symbols [linguistic or otherwise] that make manifest, or elaborate, the content of particular mental spaces” (326). Hence, in the case of our nickname *koczkodan*, particular extracts retrieved from the corpus constitute Level 5, at which communication not conceptualisation happens.

In brief, the levels of such decontextualized conceptual structures as image schemas, frames, and domains are responsible for pairwise mappings between the source and target domains, as stipulated in CMT. In the case of the nickname *koczkodan*, some elements of the appearance of this animal are mapped onto human appearance, namely, the atypical, exotic, colourful and distinguishing look of a vervet monkey is mapped onto a man/woman’s appearance, indicating their ugly physical look and weird over colourful dressing style. As noticed by Szerszunowicz, in Polish and Italian, there are words and expressions that reflect the perception of monkeys, including the vervet monkey, as animals of exceptional ugliness (Polish ‘to look like a vervet’, ‘ugly as a monkey’) (120). Thus, the word *koczkodan* as an epithet usually has negative connotations, alluding to objective similarities between source (a vervet monkey) and target (human being) domains.

Indeed, all the three most schematic structures (image schemas, domains and frames) do provide us with all the offline knowledge about the meaning of the *koczkodan* nickname and are still well acknowledged in the discourse. Nonetheless, they lack thorough specificity and do not include the whole meaning of the nickname that is present in today’s discourse. Our research has confirmed the assumption, adopted after Kövecses (“Levels”, *Extended*), that the exact meaning of the metaphors underlying the nickname *koczkodan* cannot be produced by the three schematic structures alone, but instead, it needs to mobilise the offline background knowledge by means of particular contexts, and use the online work realised at the level of mental space. Consequently, it was Kövecses’s (“Levels”, *Extended*) proposal of using natural social discourse in order to gain the complexity of metaphorical meaning that has become our basic drive to establish the present meaning of the nickname *koczkodan*.



Remarkably, based on the contemporary discourse results, we can notice that the nickname *koczkodan* concerns not only the external appearance, but it is also extended to a broadly understood human behaviour that is unaccepted and inconsistent with the expectations of the environment. Yet, the original dictionary meaning does not give such a broad basis for such reluctance and negation in terms of one's character and attributes. Since the two-domain mapping is not successful enough to provide for the meaning which is generated during the actual communicative situations, we need to apply the online conceptual integration to explain the process happening at the level of mental spaces. By drawing from conceptual integration theory (CIT), metaphor integration may explain online conceptual activities. To be specific, at the level of mental spaces, similar elements from two input spaces, respectively corresponding to source (a vervet monkey and its ugly appearance) and target (a person and their ugly appearance as well as weird and negative, deterrent behaviour and evil character traits), are schematized to generic spaces, and integrated into a single conceptual whole, called 'emergent' structure' (Ruiz de Mendoza 308), providing the basis for the novel metaphorical meaning, received at the level of mental space. As held by Fauconnier and Turner, "integration networks are far richer than the bundles of pairwise bindings considered in recent theories of metaphor" (53). In this way, the cooperation between CMT and CIT, but respecting their different "cognitive tasks" (Kövecses, *Extended* 149), may maintain human thinking and provide for the complete meaning.

At this point, revisiting Kövecses's ("Levels," *Extended*) view of the contextual dependence of metaphor may help us understand the role context plays in the meaning construction of the nickname under scrutiny. The 'context' that Kövecses (*Extended*) means is not restricted to the bodily context in CMT but the term stretches out to be "relevant context" (94). Classifying contextual factors into four main categories: bodily (also in the CMT), situational (e.g. weather, gender, religion), discourse (including sentences, topics, encyclopaedic knowledge, discourse types), and conceptual-cognitive (e.g. ideology), Kövecses ("Levels;" *Extended*) states that these elements prime the use of metaphor in both content and style. The content concerns the experience of both the speaker and the hearer. The style, in turn, refers to how these experiences are presented in metaphors, taking into consideration the degree of schematicity of the concept involved in metaphor, the way it is structured, connected with body parts, etc.

In this light, by following the hybrid CMA-CMT model, we have managed to retrieve from the corpus study some of the contextual factors, summarised in (4). Accordingly, the extracts were analysed in terms of conceptualizers, both the speakers who generate the metaphors to refer to the nickname *koczkodan*, as well as

the hearers who become the addressees or some casual listeners. In the research, we have learnt their gender, their general hostile attitude to the receiver as well as the register of the discourse they use on the level of their communication.

(4) Contextual factors retrieved from the corpus study of the nickname *kocz-kodan*:

(a) **Reference to one's physical ugliness and odd clothes** (25% of all the cases):

- Gender of the speakers: men (60%), women (35%), unclear gender (5%)
- Gender of the receivers: men (10%), women (85%), unclear gender (5%)
- Register types: literature (45%), journals (40%), Internet chats/blogs (15%)

(b) **Reference to one's evil character traits** (75% of all the cases):

- Gender of the speakers: men (80%), women (10%), unclear gender (10%)
- Gender of the receivers: men (78%), women (14%), unclear gender (8%)
- Register types: literature (15%), journals (42%), Internet chats/blogs (43%)

The contextual factors based on our corpus results, given in (4), have been systematically interpreted in section 3.2. Yet, for the sake of convenience, let us repeat that the vast majority of the entries of the nickname *kocz-kodan*, present in our contemporary discourse, seem to allude to the novel meaning, namely, to a woman's or a man's evil character traits, and only in one fourth of the cases to their physical ugliness and weird dressing. Interestingly, referring to the character traits tends to be made by men (80%), who appear to speak generally about other men's terrible character (78%) and rarely about female character (14%). Women, in turn, seem to be mostly compared to *kocz-kodan* due to their physical ugliness and odd dressing. At last, our results concerning the type of discourse in which the nickname under scrutiny occurs seem to confirm, in general, Maria Wojtyła-Świerzowska's thesis that "nicknames belong to the living, everyday sphere of the language in its lower register – they rarely enter the artistic language" (107).<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, despite the fact that the nickname *kocz-kodan* has its regular occurrence in the discourse of the so-called lower register (such as Internet chats/blogs and journals), the traditional reading of *kocz-kodan*, i.e. the reference to women/men's physical ugliness and bizarre clothes, seems to occur more repeatedly in literature books not in everyday discourse. This result still confirms the fact that the meaning based on the reference to one's physical attributes – which is precisely the one offered by the dictionary definition – tends to be more widely cited by literature writers; hence, it seems to be a more conventionalized reading of *kocz-kodan*.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of the Polish citation into English is prepared by the author of this paper.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Expressiveness is a distinctive feature of everyday language. Its prior task is not only to express one's inner states, but also name some human mental activities and their external features, such as age or gender. Different epithets, such as nicknames, are associated with the transfer of emotions of the speaker directed to the addressee of those expressions (Grabias). Emotional labelling and insults are therefore indispensable elements, at least in some nicknames (Skipper and Leslie). Recognising nicknames as a fertile ground to learn about the meaning construction, the article was an analytical study of the metaphorical nickname that refers in Polish to *koczkodan* 'a vervet monkey'. Our prior aim was to obtain the very meaning of the nickname used by speakers in a given context in a real discourse.

A general conclusion from the analysis of the language data is that conceptual metaphor is, indeed, a successful meaning construction device. Our assumption, adopted after Kövecses ("Levels", *Extended*), that we may be able to obtain the meaning of the nickname *koczkodan* better, by examining the hierarchical complexity of conceptual metaphor and the priming effect of contextual factors on conceptual structures, turned out to be true. The contemporary meaning was gained by examining the metaphors underlying the nickname, which are motivated by various contextual factors, e.g. the speakers' and receivers' gender and discourse registers in which the phrase was found. We learnt that, in real discourse, people use metaphor as a dynamic 'metaphorical performance', beginning with a general image schema that emerges at the very moment when the speaker needs to use metaphors. Then, the corresponding metaphor hierarchy is established, including more detailed metaphors at the level of domains and frames, until the level of mental spaces is reached. The latter proved to be of great importance for obtaining the new meaning of the nickname *koczkodan*, as the integration of two incompatible input spaces (animal features and human characteristics) could be blended to form one single space, following CIT. This resulted in generating a novel meaning of *koczkodan* in Polish, making reference not only to one's physical ugliness but also to one's evil character traits, including one's peculiarities, sometimes seemingly insignificant, manner of moving, type of behaviour, manner of performing an activity, timbre of voice, manner of speaking, habits, something that is perceived and assessed as a vice. We got to know, as well, that following CMT we can explain the mappings happening between the compatible parts, and the remaining mismatched parts of the nickname can find their value to the metaphorical meaning by means of CIT. Owing to the actual

communicative situations with online conceptual integration at the level of mental spaces we have managed to recognise the novel extended reading of the nickname.

Furthermore, we agree with Kövecses (“Levels”, Extended) that all these conceptual complexities participate in understanding and generating the metaphorical meaning, but in different degrees of schematicity, in terms of which image schema, domain, frame, and mental space go from the most schematic to the least schematic. The level, hence the metaphor used, depends on contextual factors, such as the gender of both the speaker and the listener as well as the type of discourse. Yet, the real motivation behind using a particular reading of the nickname was not always possible to establish.

Last but not least, as Lakoff and Johnson note, “metaphors [...] highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience [...] metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities” (156-157). This claim has proved to be true, especially in the case of our nickname *koczkodan*. Its new meaning, not included in dictionaries yet, reveals the contemporary ways of thinking about reality, systems of ordering and evaluating the world (Pajdzińska 34). If this meaning of the nickname gets deeply rooted in the awareness of contemporary society, it may become part of our culture, revealing the way we perceive a given person (Arciszewska 11-12). In this matter, as we hope, our study has contributed to both cognitive semantics and lexicography.

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LEVELS OF SCHEMATICITY  
IN METAPHORICAL ANIMAL NICKNAMES:  
THE CASE STUDY OF *KOCZKODAN* NICKNAME IN POLISH

S u m m a r y

The aim of this paper is to recognise the contemporary meaning of the nickname *koczkodan* in Polish [English: *hag, frump*; literally: *a vervet monkey*], based on extracts of real discourse taken from the Polish Corpus. This meaning has been obtained by examining the metaphors underlying the nickname, which are motivated by various contextual factors, e.g. the speaker's gender and discourse registers in which the phrase is pronounced. Accordingly, the working CMT-CMA hybrid model is applied for the purpose of the study, which derives both from the extended view of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and from the discursive and critical view of metaphor within Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). The results obtained in the study reveal that the meaning of the *koczkodan* nickname is based on six metaphorical dynamic structures organised hierarchically, from the most schematic image schema that emerges at the very moment when the speaker needs to use the nickname, through more detailed metaphors at the levels of domains and frames, until the level of mental spaces is reached. This level is of great importance for the new meaning of the *koczkodan* nickname, as the integration of two incompatible input spaces (animal and human characteristics) are blended to form one single space. This results in the generation of a novel meaning of *koczkodan* in Polish, which makes reference not only to one's physical ugliness but also to one's evil character traits.

**Keywords:** animal; metaphor; mental spaces; discourse; corpus study; *koczkodan* [Eng. *hag, frump*; literally: *a vervet monkey*]

POZIOMY SCHEMATYCZNOŚCI  
W METAFORYCZNYCH PSEUDONIMACH ZWIERZĘCYCH:  
STUDIUM PRZYPADKU PSEUDONIMU *KOCZKODAN* W JĘZYKU POLSKIM

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest rozpoznanie współczesnego znaczenia pseudonimu *koczkodan* w języku polskim. Znaczenie uzyskuje się, badając metafory kryjące się pod pseudonimem, które są motywowane różnymi czynnikami kontekstowymi, m.in. płcią mówcy i rejestr dyskursu, w których fraza jest wyrażana. Do celów badania zastosowano roboczy model hybrydowy CMT-CMA, który wywodzi się zarówno z rozszerzonego spojrzenia na teorię metafor pojęciowych (ang. CMT), jak i z dyskursywnego i krytycznego spojrzenia na metaforę w ramach krytycznej analizy metafor (ang. CMA). Uzyskane w badaniu wyniki wskazują, że znaczenie pseudonimu *koczkodan* opiera się na sześciu metaforycznych strukturach dynamicznych zorganizowanych hierarchicznie, począwszy od najbardziej schematycznego schematu obrazowego, który pojawia się w momencie, gdy mówiący musi użyć pseudonimu, poprzez bardziej szczegółowe metafory z poziomu domen i ram, aż do osiągnięcia poziomu przestrzeni mentalnych. Poziom przestrzeni mentalnych ma ogromne znaczenie dla nowego znaczenia pseudonimu *koczkodan*, ponieważ integracja dwóch niekompatybilnych przestrzeni wejściowych (charakterystyki zwierzęcej i ludzkiej) łączy się w jedną przestrzeń. Skutkuje to wygenerowaniem nowego znaczenia *koczkodana* w języku polskim, odwołującego się nie tylko do ludzkiej brzydoty fizycznej, ale także do złych cech charakteru.

**Słowa kluczowe:** zwierzę; metafora; przestrzenie mentalne; dyskurs; studium korpusowe; *koczkodan*